

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

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INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMCONSUL THESSALONIKI

AMCONSUL TRIESTE

AMCONSUL ZAGREB

USMISSION NATO

AMCONSUL MUNICH

USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 3123

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT PINR YO

SUBJ: INTERNAL ROUNDUP

1. SUMMARY: THIS MONTH TITO WILL CELEBRATE HIS EIGHTY-FIFTH BIRTHDAY AND STEVAN DORONJSKI, A SERB FROM THE VOJVODINA, WILL TAKE OVER AS VICE PRESIDENT OF THE STATE PRESIDENCY.

SHOULD TITO DIE IN THE NEXT YEAR, DORONJSKI WILL SUCCEED

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HIM AS TITULAR HEAD OF STATE, ALTHOUGH REAL POWER WILL RESIDE IN THE PARTY. ONE OBSERVER HERE BELIEVES EXECUTIVE SECRETARY STANE DOLANC IS FIGHTING AGAINST FORMATION OF A POLITBURO WHICH WOULD WEAKEN THE CENTRAL PARTY APPARATUS IN FAVOR OF THE REPUBLICAN BARONS. OTHER RECENT INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS INCLUDE UNUSUAL PUBLIC POLEMIC BETWEEN PROMINENT BOSNIAN AND CROAT

POLITICIANS, A REVEALING JOURNALISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE SELECTION AND MOTIVES OF SENIOR OFFICIALS IN THE FEDERAL GOVT AND SUGGESTIONS OF THE DIRECTION OF REFORM IN THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM. END SUMMARY.

2. TITO: MAY 25 WILL BE THE OFFICIAL CELEBRATION OF TITO'S 85TH BIRTHDAY. PRESS IS FULL OF TRIBUTES AND COUNTLESS ORGANIZATIONS HAVE RECOMMENDED THAT HE BE MADE A NATIONAL HERO FOR THE THIRD TIME. TITO HAS BEEN CONSULTING WITH THE LEADERS OF SLOVENIA, CROATIA AND BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINIA IN THE PAST MONTH. (AN AMERICAN PROFESSOR WHO HAD BEEN IN ZAGREB DURING TITO'S VISIT TOLD CHARGE THAT HE SAW FEW SMILES AND THAT CHEERING CAME ONLY FROM CHILDREN, NOT FROM THE ADULTS). THESE MEETINGS, COMING AFTER AN EXTENDED STAY ON THE MONTENEGRIN COAST, WHERE HE MET WITH MONTENEGRIN LEADERS, PRESUMABLY CONCERN NEXT YEAR'S PARTY CONGRESSES AND KEY PERSONNEL DECISIONS. THE PRESS REPORTED ON MAY 10 THAT THE PRESIDENCY OF MONTENEGRO, ACTING ON THE RECOMMENDATION OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE MONTENEGRIN LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS, HAD RE-ELECTED VELJKO MILATOVIC AS PRESIDENT OF MONTENEGRO, TITO CERTAINLY WOULD HAVE GIVEN HIS APPROVAL TO AN IMPORTANT POST LIKE THIS. TITO'S TRAVELS AND PUBLIC ENGAGEMENTS INDICATE THAT HIS HEALTH IS REASONABLY GOOD. THE BRITISH WRITER, WILLIAM DEAKIN, WHO MET WITH TITO IN THE SPRING, TOLD BRITISH DIPLOMATS THAT TITO LOOKED WELL AND A BIT THINNER THAN USUAL. DEAKIN HAS KNOWN HIM SINCE THE WAR.

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3. DOLANC: LC EXECUTIVE SECRETARY STANE DOLANC TRAVELED TO BRITAIN IN APRIL AT THE INVITATION OF THE LABOR PARTY. AT LUNCH WITH BRITISH DIPLOMATS HERE BEFORE THE TRIP, DOLANC WAS CONFIDENT AND SOMEWHAT SELF-EFFACING. HE TOLD SEVERAL STORIES AT HIS OWN EXPENSE. ON ONE OCCASION HE SAID HE WALKED INTO THE WRONG RECEPTION AT A HOTEL AND FOUND HIMSELF SURROUNDED BY A GROUP OF TURKISH BUSINESSMEN WHO EFFUSIVELY EXPRESSED THEIR GRATITUDE FOR HIS ATTENDANCE. NOT WANTING TO SHOW THAT HE WAS THERE ONLY BY ERROR, DOLANC SAID HE SHOOK HANDS ALL AROUND, EXPRESSED HIS BEST WISHES, AND HEADED FOR THE NEAREST DOOR. TO HIS SURPRISE HE FOUND HIMSELF THIS TIME IN THE KITCHEN, WHERE HE AGAIN SHOOK HANDS ALL AROUND AND CONGRATULATED THE STAFF ON ITS WORK BEFORE FINALLY BEING POINTED TOWARD THE CORRECT RECEPTION. THE PORTLY DOLANC ATE LITTLE DURING LUNCH WITH THE BRITISH. IN HIS TALKS IN BRITAIN DOLANC FAVORED THE CONSIDERATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AT THE CSCE CONFERENCE, BUT IN PERSPECTIVE. DOLANC ALSO TOLD THE BRITISH THAT TRUE SOCIALISM DOES NOT EXIST IN

EASTERN EUROPE. HE BELIEVES THAT LIBERALIZING FORCES ARE AT WORK BUT THAT THEIR PROGRESS WILL BE SLOW. DOBRIVOJE VIDIC, A MEMBER OF THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND A FORMER AMBASSADOR TO LONDON, ACCOMPANIED DOLANC ON HIS TRIP AND WAS EXTREMELY DEFERENTIAL, ACCORDING TO THE BRITISH. DOLANC DID NOT GO WITH TITO ON HIS VISITS TO CROATIA AND BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINIA BUT HE WAS ON HAND IN SLOVENIA. THE PRESS REPORTED THAT EDWARD KARDELJ, KARDELJ'S WIFE AND DOLANC WERE THE FIRST TO EXTEND MAY DAY GREETINGS TO PRESIDENT TITO.

4. DOLANC AND THE POLITBURO: A KNOWLEDGEABLE SWEDISH DIPLOMAT BELIEVES THAT DOLANC IS FIGHTING TO PREVENT FORMATION OF A POLITBURO AT THE HEAD OF THE PARTY. THE SWEDE BELIEVES THE POLITBURO WOULD ENHANCE THE POWER OF THE REPUBLICS, WHICH WOULD EACH BE REPRESENTED
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ON IT. ITS FORMATION WOULD REDUCE THE POWER OF THE CENTRAL PARTY APPARATUS, WHICH DOLANC HEADS. THE SWEDE DESCRIBED THE COLLECTIVE STATE PRESIDENCY AS A "RUBBER STAMP". HE SAID THAT AFTER TITO THE KEY QUESTION WILL BE WHO CONTROLS THE PARTY. DOLANC WANTS TO HAVE THE OPTION OF A STRONG CENTRAL PARTY TO BE USED IF NECESSARY. IF DOLANC CANNOT BLOCK FORMATION OF THE POLITBURO ALTOGETHER, THE SWEDE BELIEVES DOLANC WILL TRY TO MAKE IT AS LARGE, AND THEREFORE INEFFECTIVE, A BODY AS POSSIBLE.

5. NEW VICE PRESIDENT OF THE PRESIDENCY: VIDOJE ZARKOVIC WILL END HIS TERM AS VICE PRESIDENT OF THE PRESIDENCY ON MAY 15. HE WILL BE SUCCEDED BY STEVAN DORONJSKI, THE MEMBER FROM VOJVODINA AND A SERB. BEFORE HIS APPOINTMENT TO THE PRESIDENCY, DORONJSKI HAD WORKED WITH DOLANC ON THE LC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, AND THEY MAY BE ALLIES. SHOULD TITO DIE IN THE NEXT YEAR, DORONJSKI WILL SUCCEED HIM AS TITULAR HEAD OF STATE, BUT THE LC LEADERSHIP WILL BE FAR MORE POWERFUL.

6. KOZUL VS. SUVAR: PUBLIC POLEMICS HAVE MOVED FROM LITERATURE INTO POLITICS WITH A DEBATE BETWEEN THE BOSNIAN FRANJO KOZUL AND THE CROAT STIPE SUVAR. KOZUL IS THE VICE RECTOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF SARAJEVO AND A LEADING THEORETICIAN OF THE HARDLINE BOSNIAN LC. SUVAR IS THE SECRETARY FOR EDUCATION, CULTURE AND PHYSICAL EDUCATION OF CROATIA. IN AN ARTICLE IN THE NEW BOSNIAN MAGAZINE "DIALOG", USING QUOTATIONS FROM SUVAR'S WRITINGS AND SPEECHES, KOZUL ATTACKED HIM FOR CRITICIZING

CONSERVATIVE AND ELITIST ELEMENTS IN THE LC LEADERSHIP.
KOZUL QUESTIONED WHETHER SUVAR IS NOT AGAINST THE PARTY
ALTOGELOER. KOZUL'S ARTICLE WAS REPRINTED IN THE DAILY
NEWSPAPER BORBA, WHICH LATER CARRIED A REPLY BY SUVAR.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BELGRADE 3123

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y TEXT PARA 9

SUVAR DENIED KOZUL'S CHARGES AND QUESTIONED WHY KOZUL
ATTACKED HIS OLD WRITINGS, SOME OF WHICH HE HAD
PREVIOUSLY ACKNOWLEDGED TO BE IN ERROR. THE
INTERESTING QUESTION ABOUT THIS UNUSUAL DEBATE
INVOLVING PUBLIC FIGURES IS "WHAT INTERESTS LIE BEHIND
THE INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED?" SUVAR HAS LONG BEEN A
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CONTROVERSIAL FIGURE. ACCORDING TO CONGEN ZAGREB HE MAY IN FACT HAVE MORE SUPPORT IN THE REST OF THE COUNTRY THAN HE DOES IN CROATIA. A LIBERAL IN THE 1960'S, HE BECAME A LEADING OPPONENT OF THE CROATIAN NATIONALISM AND OF THE MARXISTS HUMANIST REVIEW "PRAXIS". ONE SCANDINAVIAN DIPLOMAT CALLS HIM AN OPPORTUNIST WHO MOUTHS THE LINE OF THE MOMENT. THERE ARE RUMORS THAT HE IS NOT IN FAVOR WITH VLADIMIR BAKARIC, THE MOST POWERFUL CROATIAN LEADER. SUVAR IS ADVOCATING A CONTROVERSIAL EDUCATIONAL REFORM AND HIS EDUCATIONAL IDEAS MAY HAVE DISPLEASED KOZUR. SUVAR IS ALSO KNOWN TO FAVOR A STRONG CENTRAL COMMUNIST PARTY, WHILE THE BOSNIANS, AND PARTICULARLY THE BOSNIAN LC PRESIDENT BRANKO MIKULIC, ARE BELIEVED TO FAVOR MORE AUTONOMY FOR REPUBLICAN PARTIES. ANOTHER POSSIBILITY IS THAT THE ATTACK ON SUAVR WAS THE RESULT OF HIS ADMISSION IN A RECENT ARTICLE THAT THERE ARE REMNANTS OF "STALINISM" IN THE LC. KOZUL MAY BE COUNTERATTACKING FOR THE BOSNIAN PARTY, WHICH IS REPUTED TO BE THE MOST "STALINIST" IN OUTLOOK OF ALL THE REPUBLICAN ORGANIZATIONS.

7. STAFFING THE FEDERATION: TWO FASCINATING INTERPRETIVE ARTICLES IN THE WEEKLY MAGAZINE "NIN" CONSIDER THE PROBLEM OF STAFFING THE FEDERAL GOVT. ACCORDING TO THESE ARTICLES, THE BEST PEOPLE ARE NOT BEING ATTRACTED TO FEDERAL SERVICE AND THOSE WHO ARE OFTEN ACT LIKE REPRESENTATIVES OF THEIR REPUBLICS RATHER THAN THE WHOLE NATION. THE "NIN" ARTICLES CONCENTRATE ON 474 SENIOR POSITIONS IN THE FEDERAL GOVT WHICH ARE LIKELY TO CHANGE HANDS NEXT YEAR, SUCH AS THE MEMBERS OF THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL. ACCORDING TO THE ARTICLES

-- PEOPLE IN THESE JOBS SEE THEIR FUTURE IN THEIR REPUBLIC OR PROVINCE AND NOT IN BELGRADE. THEY ARE FEARFUL OF MAKING DECISIONS WHICH MAY ALIENATE "CERTAIN CIRCLES IN THEIR REPUBLICS OR PROVINCES" AND
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THUS REDUCE THEIR CHANCES OF OBTAINING A SUITABLE POSITION AT HOME WHEN THEIR TOUR OF DUTY IN BELGRADE IS FINISHED.

-- FEDERAL SERVICE CAN INVOLVE SERIOUS RELOCATION PROBLEMS. AN OFFICIAL'S SPOUSE MIGHT NOT BE ABLE TO FIND EMPLOYMENT IN BELGRADE. THEIR CHILDREN MAY NOT SPEAK SERBO-CROATIAN AND BE ABLE TO ATTEND THE

BELGRADE SCHOOLS. SALARIES ARE USUALLY NO BETTER IN BELGRADE THAN IN THE REPUBLICS AND IN THE CASE OF SLOVENIA THEY ARE WORSE.

-- FEDERAL OFFICIALS ARE CHOSEN NOT BE COMPETITION BUT BY THE LEADERSHIP OF THE REPUBLICS AND PROVINCES. SOME SEND THEIR BEST PEOPLE TO BELGRADE; OTHERS SEND THOSE WHO ARE LEFT OVER AFTER IMPORTANT POSITIONS ARE FILLED AT THE LOCAL LEVEL. (A CROATIAN OFFICIAL TOLD CONGEN ZAGREB THAT CROAT AUTHORITIES HAVE BEEN ASKED TO PROPOSE 40-50 YOUNG PEOPLE FOR APPOINTMENTS IN THE FEDERAL GOVT, BUT THAT IT IS DIFFICULT TO FIND THAT MANY WILLING AND ABLE TO SERVE.)

8. REFORM OF THE DELEGATE SYSTEM: BEFORE NEXT YEAR'S ELECTIONS CHANGES WILL BE MADE IN THE SYSTEM BY WHICH DELEGATES ARE ELECTED TO REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLIES AT ALL LEVELS OF GOVT. ACCORDING TO AN ARTICLE IN "BORBA", THE MAIN SPEAKER AT A MEETING ABOUT REFORM OF THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM, MIODRAG VISNJIC, UNDERLINED CERTAIN MAJOR PROBLEMS AND HINTED AT THEIR SOLUTIONS. HE SAID THAT THE ELECTORAL UNITS FROM WHICH DELEGATES HAVE BEEN CHOSEN OFTEN LACK COHERENCE AND MEANING ASIDE FROM THE ELECTION ITSELF. IN THE FUTURE THEY SHOULD CONSTITUTE A NATURAL CONSTITUENCY AND FACILITATE CONTACT BETWEEN A DELEGATE AND HIS BASE. THERE SHOULD BE SOME FINANCIAL RELATION-CONFIDENTIAL

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SHIP BETWEEN ENTERPRISES WHICH ARE CONSIDERED A SINGLE VOTING UNIT FOR EXAMPLE. VISNJIC SAID THAT A LOT OF DISCUSSION HAS BEEN FOCUSED ON THE SO-CALLED CHANGEABLE DELEGATE, WHEREBY A GIVEN CONSTITUENCY DOES NOT SEND THE SAME REPRESENTATIVE TO ALL MEETINGS BUT RATHER WHICHEVER MEMBER IS BEST QUALIFIED TO DISCUSS THE SUBJECT AT HAND. WHILE HE SAID THAT THIS IS A GOOD IDEA IN THEORY, THE CONDITIONS DO NOT EXIST FOR IT TO BE PUT INTO PRACTICE EVERYWHERE. (THIS FORMULATION SUGGESTS THAT THE SLOVENES WILL BE ALLOWED TO CONTINUE TO EXPERIMENT WITH THE CHANGEABLE DELEGATE IDEA, BUT THAT THE OTHER REPUBLICS ARE NOT WILLING TO ADOPT IT.) VISNJIC ALSO NOTED THAT THE LEADERS OF SOCIAL-POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS (LIKE THE LC) ARE RARELY ELECTED AS DELEGATES TO SOCIO-POLITICAL CHAMBERS. HE EMPHASIZED THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO PROHIBITION AGAINST THEIR ELECTION. (LEADERS OF SOCIO-POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS MOST LIKELY DO NOT SEEK ELECTION AS DELEGATES BECAUSE THEY WOULD NOT THEREBY INCREASE THEIR INFLUENCE.)

9. PARTY MEMBERSHIP: WHILE NO EXACT FIGURE FOR TOTAL LC MEMBERSHIP HAS BEEN GIVEN FOR SEVERAL MONTHS, THE FIGURE OF 1 MILLION 400 THOUSAND IS FREQUENTLY USED. THIS MAKES THE PARTY ROUGHLY 100 TIMES AS LARGE AS IT WAS 32 YEARS AGO WHEN THE WAR ENDED. THE PARTY HAS GROWN BY MORE THAN 25 PERCENT IN THE PAST THREE YEARS WITH YOUNG PEOPLE)THOSE UNDER 27) CONSTITUTING 70 PERCENT OF NEW ADMISSIONS. THE RELATIVELY HIGH PROPORTION OF YOUNG PEOPLE LED THE HUNGARIAN COUNSELOR TO COMMENT ON THE INEXPERIENCE OF THE PARTY AT THE BASE. HE ESTIMATES THAT ONE THIRD OF THE TOTAL MEMBERSHIP IS YOUNG AND NEW TO THE PARTY. YORK

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